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Chinese Investment and Aid to Africa: Philanthropy or Neo-Colonialism: The Nigerian Experience

Abunimye, Sunday Betembiaye and Adie, Deborah Oden

Department of Political Science, University of Calabar, Nigeria

Sundayabunimye@gmail.com and Deborahoden@gmail.com

Abstract

The paper examines Chinese investment and aid to Africa; philanthropy or neo-colonialism: The Nigeria experience. The paper reflects on the utility of aid and investments which remains an important aspect of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Nigeria. It interrogates Chinese trade relations with Nigeria usually through aid and investments with a view to determining whether they are borne out of an altruistic concern or a furtherance of Chinese strategic political and economic neo-colonial adventure in Africa. The paper deploys the dependency theory to analyze the relationship between Nigerian and Chinese economies. Data were obtained from secondary sources and analyzed using content analysis. Findings revealed that trade relations between China and Nigeria are skewed disproportionately in the interest of China and to the disadvantage of Nigeria. The paper recommends amongst other things that Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Nigeria should be dictated by overall national interest and development strategy; establishment of import-substituting industries jointly by the Nigerian and Chinese governments to reduce importation from China; provision of an enabling environment by the Nigerian government for businesses to thrive; and generally improve the ease of doing business in Nigeria.

Keywords: Investment, Aid, philanthropy, neo-colonialism, trade, dependency, Nigeria.

Introduction

In the contemporary international system, aided by globalization, it is inconceivable for nation-states to exist in isolation. In other words, the international system is designed to foster

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interaction and cooperation amongst nations of the world. In Africa, apart from the continent's cooperation and relations with countries of the global west, there is also an intensification of cooperation between Africa and other countries of the south. In the last few decades, this intensification of cooperation amongst the south-south states has been more pronounced between China and Nigeria. This is premised on the perceived benefits they stand to gain from such relationship (Ampiah & Sanusha, 2015.). China is vigorously competing with the United States of America and other western countries for a fair share of Nigeria's natural resources. In fact, China's growing ties with Africa has overtaken that of the United States since 2010 as Africa's top trading partner because of its massive investment in the continent, which is largely aided by China investible export loan assistance of \$150 billion to its multinational corporations (Brautigam, 2009:22). Between 2001 and 2011, Chinese exports to Africa were raised from \$4.4 billion to \$56.3 billion (Shiitu & Adenike, 2018).

Sino-Nigeria cooperation or relation is aimed at exploring their economic comparative advantages for mutual benefits. While China relates with Nigeria mainly in the areas of trade, aid and investment, Nigeria equally seeks to explore trade opportunities in China. Over the last few decades, China's trade with Nigeria has increased given China's growing industrial economy which relies on Nigeria for the supply of raw material resources and as a ready market for its manufactured goods. Shiitu and Adenike (2018), note that as a result of Nigeria's huge population and its status as the most populous country in Africa, Chinese investments in Nigeria have become an important issue as more than 200 Chinese companies are currently operating in Nigeria, thus making Nigeria the largest recipient of Chinese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), which stands at about \$15 billion out of its \$26.5 billion investments in Africa as of 2016 (Shiitu & Adenike, 2018).

However, despite Chinese huge investment and aid to Nigeria, there have been controversies and apprehensions by well-meaning Nigerians over what the true intentions of such

investments are, and what that portends for Nigeria's national security and socio-economic development. Indeed, as argued by Ogunsanwo, (2018), concerns have been raised specifically over the impact of Chinese investments in Nigeria's economic security, which is mainly affected by the apparent lack of technology transfer between the two countries, lack of support for growth of Nigeria's investments in China; lack of employment opportunities as well as visa restrictions to Nigerians to explore business opportunities in China; and the use of Nigeria as a dumping ground for Chinese inferior and obsolete industrial products.

Furthermore, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from China to Nigeria has further exacerbated Nigeria's underdevelopment crisis by further deepening Nigeria's dependence on the Chinese economy, thus, undermining Nigeria's economic security (Enuka, 2010). Against this backdrop therefore, this paper seeks to examine Chinese investments and aid to Africa in general and Nigeria in particular with a view to determining whether such gestures are based on mutual cooperation and respect for the internal sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nigeria or a furtherance of Chinese neo-colonial adventure in Africa.

Operationalization of concepts

i) Investment

An investment is an asset that is intended to produce income or capital gains. It is the act of using currently held money to buy assets in the hopes of appreciation. Investing is a way to build wealth in the future (<https://investinganswers.com>). Investment is a conscious act of an individual or any entity that involves deployment of money (cash) in securities or assets ... with a view to obtain the target returns over a specified period of time (<https://kalian-city.blogspot.com>). Hayes (2021) defined investment as an asset or item acquired with the goal of generating income or appreciation. The author regards appreciation as an increase in the value of an asset over time. Hayes (2021) emphasized that an investment always concerns the outlay of some capital today-time, effort, money, or an asset-in hopes of a greater payoff in the future than what was originally put in. The

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Cambridge English Dictionary (2023), defined investment as the act of putting money's effort, time, etc into something to make a profit or get an advantage (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org>).

ii) Aid

Aid is money, equipment; or services that are provided for people, countries, or organizations who need them but cannot provide them for themselves (<https://www.collinsdictionary.com>).

According to the Longman Dictionary of contemporary English aid refers to help, such as money or food, given by an organization or government to a country or to people who are in a difficult situation (<https://www.ideoonline.com>). The Cambridge English Dictionary sees aid as help in the form of food, money, medical supplies, or weapons that is given by a richer country to a poorer country (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org>). Foreign aid, thus is the international transfer of capital, goods or services from a country or international organization for the benefits of the recipient country or its population. Such aid can be economic, military, or emergency or humanitarian aid (Williams, 2021). Nkrumah (1968), concludes that aid to a neo-colonial state is merely a revolving credit, paid by the neo-colonial master, passing through the neo-colonial state and returning to the neo-colonial master in the form of increased profits. It is this later sense which this paper seeks to explore.

iii) Philanthropy – the term is derived from two Greek words “philos”, which means loving and “anthropos”, which means humankind (Catherine Zimmer <https://www.learningtogive.org>). It is the altruistic concern for human welfare and advancement, usually manifested by donations of money, property, or work to needy persons, by endowment of institutions of learning and hospitals, and by generosity to other socially useful purposes (<https://www.dictionary.com>).

iv) Neo-colonialism: Neo-colonialism simply implies the continuation of old colonialism by other means. In other words, it is the continuous domination, exploitation and subjugation of third world countries' economies either by their former colonial masters

or other developed industrialized countries seeking for raw materials and market for their industrial products. This is often carried out through investment and aid to third world countries. Nkrumah (1965), referred to it when he said "... foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world' (Nkrumah, 1965). Thus, neo-colonialism aims at controlling the economy of less developed states. In other words, neo-colonialist control is exercised through economic or monetary means. The neo-colonial state may be obliged to take the manufactured products of the imperialist power to the exclusion of competing products from elsewhere (Nkrumah, 1968).

Methodology

The study employed documentary method of data collection which is basically used in qualitative research. Qualitative research is thus, a detailed and systematic examination of the contents of a particular body of materials for the purpose of identifying patterns, themes or biases (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). As pointed out by Bailey (1994), documentary method is a means of collecting data by reviewing existing documents. It deals with the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon under investigation. Strauss and Corbin (1990), note that documentary research aims at producing findings that are not arrived at by means of quantification.

The paper therefore utilizes data from such secondary sources as textbooks, journal articles, conference papers, internet materials as well as newspapers/magazines and other materials relevant to the subject under study.

Theoretical framework

The paper is anchored on the dependency theoretical approach. Dependency theory is attributed to the classical works of Hans Singer and Raul Prebisch published in 1949. These two authors argued

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that the terms of trade between developed and underdeveloped countries had deteriorated over time because of the exploitative relationship that exist between the two worlds (Shiitu & Adenike, 2018). Essentially, the dependency theory is a general analysis of the process of capitalist development of peripheral socio-economic formations and its prevailing mode of analysis focusing on the asymmetric interplay depicted in many different ways including the identification, recognition and acceptance of imperialism as the principal adversary (Ndu, 1999).

Dependency theorists such as Furtado 1964, DOS Santos 1970, Sunkel 1979, Emmanuel 1972, Frank 1976, Ake 1981; Onimode 1982, etc, contend that the dependence of the south on the North is the main cause of the underdevelopment of the former. They argue that the prevailing socio-economic and political conditions in peripheral social formations are historically determined. This process developed as a global historical phenomenon as a result of the development and expansion of capitalism on the world scale. Its first manifestation is the incorporation of many peripheral countries into the world economy at the early stage of capitalist development. Also, during the process of capitalist development, many countries have been integrated into the world economy while the world economy has led to metropolis-satellite claim in which the surplus generated at each level in the periphery is successively drawn off the centre as a result, the periphery is impoverished and the centre is enriched (Ohingan, 1966).

Dependency theory emerged as a reaction against the modernization theory, the dominant economic theory before dependency theory, which argued that all societies progress through similar stages of development and prescribes a Eurocentric, linear, step by step approach by which all societies must proceed to development. They argued that the now developed and progressive part of the world was once underdeveloped and that the best strategy to bail underdeveloped countries out of poverty is to accelerate them along this supposed path of development shared with the west through acceptance of foreign direct investment, technology transfer and closer integration into the world market. Dependency theorists rejected this view and rather hold the view

that contemporary underdevelopment of peripheral social formations is the result of the exploitative relationship that have characterized the interaction between the poor nations and the developed ones from the colonial period till the present time. Capitalist countries of today have managed accumulation of capital by exploiting the colonial territories (Baran, 1957).

The theory of unequal exchange propounded by Emmanuel (1970), supports the dependency theory. The theory precisely addresses the unequal and imbalance trade relations between a developed economy like China and developing economy like Nigeria. Unequal trade relations expresses itself in terms of the cost of production, wages or income and price differentials between the developed and less developed countries, these indices being higher in the former than the later, engenders unequal exchange in trade between the two.

The utility of the dependency theory and unequal exchange to our understanding of the prevailing unequal bilateral relations between Nigeria and China is expressed in dependency, poverty and underdevelopment as distinguishing features of peripheral socio-economic formations, which derive from their integration into the international capitalist system. The relationship between the developed countries (DCS) and less developed countries (LCDs), Mac-Ogonor (1999) and Badejo (1990), pointed out, is sustained and perpetuated through certain structures, agencies and institutions.

Background to Nigeria – Chinese Bilateral relations

According to Ogunsamwo (2008), Nigeria's formal relations with China dates back to 1960, when a Chinese delegation attended Nigeria's independence celebrations on the invitation of the Nigerian government. Although, Nigeria's political leadership at independence was not only pro-west but apparently anti-communist. The effect of this disposition was that Nigeria's attitude towards communist China followed what had then emerged as a clear pattern of most of its relations with then socialist states that is, diplomatic isolation accompanied occasionally by bitter attack against communist subversive ideology at home (Owoeye, 1986).

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However, more than a decade of the first formal diplomatic contact in 1960, both countries opened the diplomatic ties between the two countries aimed at promoting mutual respect for each other's internal affairs, sovereign equality and peaceful co-existence (Musa, 2007). Pease (2010), noted that this friendship was further consolidated with the visit of the then Head of State of Nigeria, General Yakubu Gowon to China in 1972 to solicit the support of the Chinese government to rebuild Nigeria's battered economy after the civil war.

The Abacha administration further cemented the relationship between the two countries by playing down and de-emphasizing Nigeria's relation with the United States and its allies and tactically moved closer to China in 1995 having been heavily criticized by the United State and its allies and consequently isolated from the international community following human rights abuses perpetrated by the Abacha's administration especially the execution of Mr. Ken Saro-wiwa and other Ogoni environmental activists (Ogunsanwo, 2000, Reno, 1999).

Since the return of Nigeria to civil rule in 1999, the relations between China and Nigeria have been intensified and consistent. This was symbolized by the visit of President Olusegun Obasanjo to China in 2001, following an earlier visit in 1999. According to Shiitu and Adenike (2018), the visit was primarily intended to woo Chinese industrialists to come and invest in the Nigerian economy. They emphasized that the bilateral agreement reached between the two countries during the visit harped on economic agreement over the petroleum sector, which culminated in the active participation of Chinese firms in the upstream and downstream sector of Nigeria's oil, gas and petrochemicals industries.

Consequently, China invested US\$ 2 billion to rehabilitate Kaduna refinery in Nigeria and also committed US\$ 5 billion for road and rail construction while China collected crude oil equivalent to the cost (Shiitu & Adenike, 2018).

Okeke (2008) pointed out that Nigeria further strengthened her relations with China with the visit of president Musa Yar'Adua to China in February, 2008, in which a number of financial

agreements were reached namely: US \$ 500 million concessionary loan for projects to be identified by Nigeria, construction of hospital in Abuja to be facilitated by a US \$ 4.2 million grant, grant of US \$ 25 million for the construction of China – Nigeria. Friendship cultural centre in Abuja, grant of US \$ 7.2 million for the construction of four rural schools in Nigeria, placing of balance of US \$ 2 billion loan under public – private sector partnership with insurance cover to be provided by a Chinese company and Nigeria providing guarantee when absolutely necessary and the removal of linkage of oil block to the EXIM bank facility (Okeke, 2008).

NICAF (2013), cited in Shiitu and Adenike, (2018) pointed out that Nigeria signed three loan agreements with China during the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan. The agreements include \$500 million for Abuja light rail project, \$500, million contracts for the construction of airports terminals in the country, and \$100 million contract for galaxy backbone expansion of connectivity among government ministries in Nigeria. Also, a state visit to China by former president Goodluck Jonathan in 2013 saw the conclusion of agreement between the two countries where Chinese companies invested over \$25 billion in Nigeria, including a \$20 billion agreement for China to generate 20,000 megawatts of electricity for Nigeria.

The Chinese government has also offered loan assistance to the present administration of president Buhari, beginning with a \$6 billion loan for infrastructural development especially the expansion of the Abuja, Lagos, Kano and Port Harcourt international airports. Also, in order to improve the ease of doing business between the two countries, the Buhari government signed a currency swap agreement with China which will enable the two countries buy and sell with the Nigeria naira and the Chinese Yuan, instead of the United States' dollar. This has greatly improved trade and business relations between the two countries.

Interrogating Chinese investment and aid to Africa

The underpinning factors that propelled the Asian giant (China) foray into Africa and indeed Nigeria can be hinged on resource exploration, pragmatic commercial interest and

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geopolitical foreign policy (Adebowole, 2018). China's relations with Africa, particularly in terms of investment and Aid have become very controversial in the last few decades. Much of the controversy has been about the fact that China-Africa relations, shows, particularly, for the industrialized capitalist countries of the west, the emergence of a competitor for Africa's enormous natural resources (Naidu, Davies, 2006). Alden (2005), has pointed out four strategic factors driving Chinese contemporary adventure in Africa namely; resource security, the need for new markets and investment opportunities; symbolic diplomacy, development assistance and co-operation; and forging strategic partnerships. However, Alden (2005) further argued that the above factors do not seem to adequately explain the reasons for Chinese interest in Africa.

Thus China's 'backhand' objective in Africa and Nigeria in particular is premised on competition and scramble for Africa's rich natural resources, markets and China's desire for strategic influence as an emerging global power (Frynas and Paulo, 2007; Malitani, 2008; Obi, 2010 & Lyman, 2005). Marks (2021), argued that China's struggle for African resources is akin to Europe's 19th century scramble for Africa namely, the quest for raw materials for industrial development. In other words, China's "Charitable" activities in Africa, particularly her investments and aid to Nigeria aims to further her strategic global foreign policy; namely, that of competing with the west for a fair share of economic resources especially raw materials, oil, agricultural produce, solid minerals and market for her industrial produce (Ogunsanwo, 2015, 2015; Henley, 2015; Lumumba, 2011 & Fukuyama, 2014).

According to Ogunsanwo (2008), China's investment and aid in Africa which grew from \$9.68 billion in 2000 to \$1.3 trillion in 2013, represent a modern tool for exploiting African resources by China in the 21st century. The author further noted that such exponential increase in Chinese investments superseded both the legally and illegally repatriated profits from Africa to China, with only about 15% of such profits paid as taxes between 2006 and 2013.

In Nigeria, for instance, Chinese influence can be felt almost in every area of the national economy: Trade, commerce and investment, health, education, infrastructure as well as technical relations. However, the bulk of Chinese investment in Nigeria is more pronounced in the economic sector (Shiitu & Adenike, 2018). There are over 200 solely-owned Chinese companies in Nigeria, according to the East Asian investment indicator (2016). These companies are actively involved in the construction, oil and gas, technological services and education sectors of the Nigerian economy. Chinese economic interests in Nigeria can be broadly classified into three namely:

1. Those companies solely owned by private Chinese investors
2. Those investments owned by the Chinese government and
3. Those privately owned between Chinese and Nigerian private investors as well as those privately owned between Chinese and other foreign investors.

These Chinese investments have largely enjoyed different forms of incentives from the Nigerian government to foreign investments such as tax breaks and generous expatriation quotas amongst others.

Table 1: Some Selected Chinese companies in Nigeria

Company name	Origin	Name of Business	Nature of investment	Level of investment	Employment generation
Happy chef restaurant Ltd	Chinese & Nigeria	Foods and restaurant business	Joint venture	N20 million	35
Plas Alliance company Ltd	Chinese	Manufacturing of rubber bags and shoes	WFO	N75 million	170
Royal motors company Ltd	Chinese	Assembling of motorcycles	WFO	N10 million	1000
Sun Lung industries (Nigeria) Ltd	Chinese	Manufacture, import, and distribution of all types of telecommunication, electronic goods, telecom materials, instrument, musical	WFO	N20 million	75

			instruments						
ZTE investment Ltd	Nigeria	1 Chinese 1 Australian	Production, services, related telecommunications	sales, investment to	WFO	N5 million	136		

Source: NIPC (2016)

Furthermore, it can be observed that following the dependency theoretical perspective, Nigeria's economy has been largely oriented towards the production of agricultural raw materials for capitalist industrial use particularly China. In the last few decades, Nigeria's export to China far outweighs that of the west. The products mostly exported include raw food, animal skin, crude oil, chemical products, and manufactured goods. Nigeria's total export to China in 2015 alone for instance, was US \$ 307.3 million, with the main export commodity being oil and lubricants, which represented US \$ 273.7 million. The next most important export in 2016 was crude materials which totaled US \$ 33.3 million. The remaining two broad commodities of cocoa and cotton exported to China in 2016 were valued between US \$0.1 million and US \$ 0.2 million.

Table 2: China's share of Nigeria's exports (US \$ million)

		2011		2013		2015		China's share of Nigeria's exports		
		World	China	World	China	World	China	2011	2013	2015
0	Food and live animals	293.9	0.0	205.4	0.2	592.6	1.8	0.0	0.1	0.3
1	Beverages and tobacco	1.7	0.0	1.3	0.0	3.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2	Crude mater-ek food/fuel	262.4	0.0	54.5	33.3	304.0	12.6	0.0	61.1	4.1
3	Mineral fuel/lubricants	11189.8	0.0	19950.5	273.7	43054.7	503.9	0.0	1.4	1.2
4	Animal/veg oil/fat/wax	0.1	0.0	2.6	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

5	Chemicals/product n.e.s	38.6	0.0	8.6	0.0	15.6	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.5
6	Manufactured goods	347.3	0.0	10.0	0.1	255.4	8.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
7	Machinery/transp equipment	185.9	0.0	70.3	0.0	114.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
8	Miscellaneous manuf arts	15.7	0.0	9.1	0.0	26.9	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.6
9	Commodities nes	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Total export	12339.7	0.0	20312 .3	307.3	94369. 6	526.9	0.0	1.5	1.2

Source: World integrated trade solution (WITS) database (20017).

Thus, in terms of Nigeria's exports to China, oil and lubricants ranked first, followed by beverages and live animals while manufactured goods rank fourth. In terms of significance of Nigeria's export to China relative to the world, Nigeria exported more crude materials than any other item, which constituted the main exports of Nigeria to China in 2016 (Shiitu & Adenika, 2018).

Implications of Chinese investment and Aid to Nigeria

- Capital hemorrhage – year in, year out, huge funds have continued to be repatriated from Nigeria to China. The surplus value generated from Chinese investments in Nigeria is not re-invented into the economy, as a result deprives Nigeria of its multiplier effects.
- Deepens Nigeria's over dependence and reliance on Chinese goods. Nigeria now depends on Chinese ICT and telecommunication companies for her ICT needs. While Nigeria's exports to China consist mainly of primary commodities, its imports from that country are made up of largely industrial goods (Soludo, 2006)
- Nigeria has become a dumping ground for Chinese substandard products. Over the years, Nigeria has served as market outlet for Chinese products (Michael, 2006). Nearly everything Nigeria consumes is now imported from China and Nigeria government has not done much to stem the tide. Even when the Nigerian government announced that it had banned foreign textiles, in order to encourage local production, the Chinese businessmen

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constructed a small village in Lagos where banned Chinese goods were freely traded (Oyewale, 2004).

- Substandard Chinese products especially pharmaceutical have had a devastating impacts on the Nigeria's economy. Nigeria's regulatory agencies such as the standard organization of Nigeria (SON) and National Agency for food and drug administration and control (NAFDAC), customs and other agencies have regularly alerted the Nigerian authorities on the implications of these economic crimes for Nigeria (Okoya, 2010).
- Chinese companies are sabotaging Nigeria's economy by poorly executing projects in Nigeria. For example, the Chinese civil engineering and construction corporation (CCECC) was awarded US\$ 529 million railway contract by the Abacha Administration to supply rolling stocks and engines. The Chinese firm did not execute this contract successfully and nothing was done about it (Udeala, 2001). Also, of note was the poor execution of Nigcomsat-I satellite project by the Chinese which was awarded at the cost of N40 billion (Ezuka, 2009).

Also, the competition between Chinese and Nigerian companies has forced many Nigerian nascent companies out of the market or production because they could not compete favourably with their Chinese counterparts. The influx of Chinese nationals and artisans into Nigeria has forced many Nigerians into the labour market by rendering them jobless, as most technical jobs have been taken over by the Chinese.

Furthermore, Nigeria's national security is undermined as Nigeria's strategic national assets are being controlled by foreigners including Chinese. The fact that the oil sector, which is the main stay of the Nigerian economy and from where the country earns 80 percent of its foreign exchange, is mainly managed by foreigners, including Chinese, amount to undermining Nigeria's economic security. This is because it gives them privileged access to information on the source of the relative success upon which Nigeria

oil economy is premised, and on how such economy could be compromised if need be (Shiitu & Adenike, 2018).

Conclusion

Nigeria, just like every other third world country, remains at the receiving end of trade relations between her and other developed countries of the world – whether from the capitalist or communist blocks. In the past, it was thought that third world underdevelopment, especially Africa, and particularly Nigeria, was undertaken by Western capitalists' countries alone. However, the rising of China into global political and economic prominence, and her inroads into Africa, particularly Nigeria, has become evidently clear that Africa remains a theater for exploration and exploitation of her vast economic resources by the developed countries of the world.

This paper examined the manner, dimension and trajectory of Chinese adventure in Nigeria usually through aid, trade and investments which are not based on any philanthropic or altruistic basis, but a furtherance of Chinese strategic neocolonial political and economic interests. Although trade remains the most important element in Nigeria's economic relations with China, it has not been complimented significantly by the flows of investment and aid between the two countries. Trade relations between Nigeria and China are skewed disproportionately in favour of China to the disadvantage of Nigeria.

Recommendations for policy direction

In order to improve the trade-offs for Nigeria in her relations with China and to reduce her further dependence and susceptibility to the possible predatory international global powers including China, the following policy proposals are contemplated;

- 1) There should be a deliberate, coordinated and coherent synergy between Nigeria and Chinese governments towards strategizing policies aimed at bridging the trade imbalance and inequality between the two countries in favour of Nigeria.

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- 2) To increase Nigeria's products value and also improve Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings, the Nigerian government should diversify its exports from primary to secondary products.
- 3) The Nigerian government should prohibit through adequate legislative instruments, the importation of fake, substandard and inferior products from China.
- 4) Although Nigeria is in dire need of foreign direct investment (FDI), however, the permissibility of that FDI should be guiding by Nigeria's overall national interest. The Nigerian government has a responsibility of protecting the domestic economy from overzealous foreign enterprises.
- 5) In order to improve Nigeria's industrial base and competitiveness, Chinese and Nigerian government should collaboratively establish import – substituting industries in Nigeria to reduce direct importation from China.
- 6) Finally, Nigeria must create an enabling environment for businesses owned by Nigerians and foreigners to thrive Nigeria must consciously provide infrastructure such as electricity, good roads, security, stabilize its domestic currency and generally improve the ease of doing business in Nigeria.

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